1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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level of general anxiety. It was usually the result of several days of rumor, omens, and strange fires in the north.

Late one night during Quain's stay, after most of the village had retired, a near panic occurred when two women shouted that the Suyá were attacking. All the initiated men, even the weak and old, rushed to the village center with their bows and arrows. The women and children from two of the four Trumaí houses hurried with their hammocks to the other two houses. The frightened men milled around in the center of the village with no apparent organization or direction. The chief, who was trembling, did not take command of the situation.

If this had been a real attack, noted Quain, the raiders would have given a loud yell and loosed a volley of arrows. He later made an investigation and found no signs of intruders. One of the women thought that someone had thrown dirt at her. Quain believed this to be a habit of the Suyá, but one that was usually a friendly overture.

The women feared other tribes more than did the men, for one of the main purposes of raids was to capture women. In every upper Xingú community women from other tribes are always found. The dispersal of women takes three forms: capture in warfare (by groups outside the area), open abduction of a woman by intimidation of her fellow-villagers, and peaceful intertribal marriage. According to de Lima, the Suyá raid the Waurá village on the Batoví River for female captives, as the women of the Arawakan tribes are the only potters of the region.[10] The Trumaí lost many young women to the Kamayurá by intimidation, the second of the above means. Most of the women in the Trumaí village were at one time held by the Kamayurá with the result that, in many Trumaí marriages, the woman is several years older than the man. At the time of Quain's visit, Trumaí women were still living among the Kamayurá and other groups. One of them, the sister of the Trumaí chief, ran away from the Kamayurá and returned home because her husband had beaten her, an action that angered the Trumaí greatly. There she picked up the threads of her old life, but after a few weeks a party of Kamayurá took her back to their village. The Trumaí offered no resistance, either physical or verbal, although they outnumbered the visitors, for to have done so would have invited retaliation.

The fact that the Trumaí had lost many women completely, or regained them only after their most fertile years had passed, was probably a contributing factor to the depopulation of the group. The losses were only partially compensated for by the marriage of outside women into the Trumaí village. There were three foreign women in the community in 1938: a Suyá, a Mehinaku, and a Kamayurá. Their status was lower than that of the Trumaí women, and they were at times taunted because of their foreign origin. They did not participate as fully in the

[10] De Lima 1950, p. 5.

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421 437 524 [156] [521] It was

significant that Aloari, probably the most aggressive person in the village, was often an organizer and always a main participant in the games. On the other hand, he never cooperated in group work.

This conventionalized form of exchange, which Quain called the trade game, had a strong functional role in Trumaí culture, but there are indications that it was of outside origin. One informant said that it was [177] a Bakairí custom, and Quain thought that the "game" might have been introduced by Bakairí traders bringing goods from the Indian post on the Paranatinga River.[1]

The Household

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Among both the Waurá and the Kamayurá the extended family occupied its own house, and the head of the lineage was considered a sub-chief of the village.[2] Such unilocal, co-resident and extended family groupings, which were typical among tribes of the upper Xingú, were absent in the Trumaí village.

592 613 [591] [165]

Consanguineally close male relatives usually formed co-resident units, but these nuclei of kinsmen were very small and did not constitute an entire household. Furthermore, they were related to each other through male or female lines. Due to village patrilocality, there was a tendency for patrilineally related males to live together, but this did not result in the establishment of a patrilineal lineage for several reasons. Among them the high death rate was very important.

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Maibu's house illustrates the eclectic nature of the Trumaí household. Four nuclear families, totaling fourteen people, lived in it. Hanging their hammocks from one of the two center posts were Katauka, his son Kamkuti, his brother's son Autsuki, and another brother's son and his wife. At the opposite end of the house were Maibu and his wife, the wife's son by Maibu's deceased brother, Maibu's sister Ayenuke, Makurawa, a classificatory sister's son, and Makurawa's wife and their three children. Although everyone in the household was related, bonds were closer between those people who hung their hammocks from the same post.

589 592 182

Despite the fact that the household, as a unit, had no specific functions, it established the framework within which certain interpersonal dependencies were worked out. Bride-capture, intertribal warfare, divorce, and early death caused a significant proportion of the Trumaí to be temporarily or permanently without mates. This disadvantage was

[1] The trade game was possibly borrowed from the Bakairí, as its existence among this group has been reported by Oberg (1953, p. 72). However, craft specialization and trade on the upper Xingú predates the Indian post. Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 196, 207. [177]

[2] De Lima (1950, p. 9.) reports this arrangement among the Waurá, and Oberg (1953, p. 45.) adds that the position of house chief tends to pass in the male line in the Kamayurá village.

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551 605 607 Only when he was also the brother-in-law was respect given to a cross-cousin or his name avoided. Female cross-cousins, despite affinal connections, were never so treated by the men.

Avunculate

604 522 [861] [431] The maternal uncle in Trumaí society was in no sense a disciplinarian. Only the father and the father's brother were allowed to strike a child. On the other hand, the gift-giving claims of the sister's son (*deta*) upon the mother's brother (*wawe*) were strong, and particularly so when they were reinforced by co-residence. A man was expected to be benevolent and tolerant toward his *deta*. This frequently took the form of teasing and jollying the boy, and contrasted with the more serious attitude of the father and his brothers. For instance, Yati told his *deta* that he and Quain were going to eat him, and, as if to carry out the threat, he began to drag him toward the fire. The child cried lustily, and Yati immediately stopped and cajoled him. Also, Katauka said to his *deta*, "When you die, I will not cry." Katauka was greatly amused when this caused tears.

Such teasing ceased by the time a boy reached the age of puberty. Moreover, the *wawe* became a defender of the *deta's* interests in the absence of the boy's father or father's brother, and, in some cases, he supervised his initiation ceremonies. Common to both the Trumaí and [437] Kamayurá was the traveling partnership of a man and his sister's son. [171] It was quite usual for a *wawe* to take his *deta* along when he visited another village. Quain noted that on such trips the wife of the older man was rarely included. This is consistent with the sexual taboo [835] between the nephew and the maternal uncle's wife.

The Chieftaincy

● 622 624 [888] The Trumaí had one chieftain (*aek*), Maibu, and two sub-chiefs, Katauka and Matiwana. At the outset it should be understood that Katauka and Matiwana at no time during Quain's stay exerted any chiefly prerogative or function. They were not men of especially high status — indeed, Matiwana was looked down upon as an old man. Their main function, Quain was told, was to take over the office of chief when Maibu was away from the village. Due to Matiwana's advanced age, this duty ordinarily fell to Katauka. Otherwise, neither man was particularly influential; nor did they talk more in the men's circle than others.

622 537 The chief's main function was to urge his fellow Trumaí to carry out those projects or tasks which were the responsibility of the community as a whole or in its interest, but he frequently exhorted the villagers to

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pursue their individual affairs. Maibu made speeches in the evening men's circle or in the early morning, telling the men to plant their gardens or urging all to gather *piqui* fruit. Such proddings had little meaning, as they were usually made during the appropriate season for these activities, and most people would have planted or gathered as a matter of course. 622 537

Those who did not choose to do what Maibu suggested went their own way, whether it was to fish or sleep. Maibu was a gadfly; yet he was the conscience of the Trumaí. Perhaps more people would have procrastinated if it had not been for his admonitions. He was truly interested in the good of the village. He asked Quain for presents only for others, never for himself. 622

Cooperative work on the community level was usually organized by Maibu. The decision to perform such work was generally made by common agreement, but it was the chief's function to recruit the necessary labor and see that the task was done. This he did with varying degrees of success, for his power was limited. 622 476

The chief was accorded much more respect by his housemates and close kinsmen than by the rest of the villagers. The people resisted him in varying degrees, depending on their relationship to him and their individual personalities. His control over the women was particularly weak. When Quain first arrived, they refused to carry water for him, despite Maibu's orders. When they realized that they were to be given gifts for their trouble they grudgingly consented to do so, but, in the meantime, the chief had fetched the water, since the performance of such tasks for an outsider was the responsibility of the village as a whole, and no other man would do women's work. 622 592 554 [123] [574] [609]

Referring to the limitations on chiefly powers, Quain noted, "Maibu has to put up with a lot of booing and do a lot of talking. Obedience comes to him only after a long time. He seems to have no 'big stick.'" The Trumaí chief had no coercive power whatsoever. This particular headman was not a powerful shaman, although such a combination was possible and would undoubtedly have enhanced his position. The only act of a supernatural nature that he could perform was curing by sucking and blowing smoke, which was practiced by almost every adult Trumaí male. 622 554 [756] [755]

Maibu was often completely ignored, and some of the men made a point of flouting his authority. The men of Aloari's house were extremely antagonistic toward him and told Quain that he was not a true "*aek*." These men rarely took part in the few group work projects and usually they were also absent from the wrestling matches. Their own prestige motives and individual inclinations brought them into frequent conflict with Maibu, both in his capacity as the man of highest status and as the village goad. Their resentment of authority never resulted in

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outright rebellion. Despite a great deal of grumbling and non-compliance, they still tacitly recognized Maibu as chief.

One of Maibu's main prerogatives was his talking function. He alone had the role of exhorter of the people. Other men would be "ashamed," he said, to speak so. Most of Maibu's speeches were delivered at night in the men's circle or before work started in the morning. The attitude of his audience ranged from interest to bored indifference and outright ridicule. One morning Maibu lay in his hammock and shouted for everyone to go out to gather fruit. The initial response to this was a shout from some of the houses, telling him to be quiet. Later some people drifted out of the village carrying baskets, and still later others followed, grumbling that they were being driven from the village. This was a common complaint. Because of the tone in which it was said, Quain thought at first that they were actually being exiled.

The chief had no symbols of office outside of the above prerogatives; yet a deference of sorts was shown him. When Maibu entered the men's circle or Quain's house, someone always got up to give him a seat. Tobacco was usually supplied him, and the donor would roll the cigarette and light it before making the presentation. Even the men who told Quain that Maibu was not a "real chief" made these gifts. Maibu himself did not hesitate to send someone across the village through the rain to fetch something. These favors were usually performed by his kinsmen and co-residents, although occasionally more distant persons obliged. On the other hand, Maibu was expected to be generous towards all the other Trumaí. Nearly everything that Quain gave him passed to other hands. Maibu did not even have a bow of his own.

Maibu's poverty was attributable in part to his heavy gift obligations and in part to the fact that he had no garden. He said to Quain that he did not plant because he was a chief. However, he was not completely a non-producer. He went fishing, joined in collective labor, and helped his wife in gathering. At none of these tasks did he occupy himself strenuously. The only articles that he manufactured were arrows and spears. He thus made no trade commodities, relying on others, principally his co-residents, for all his artifacts and food. On most days he did little except talk, sleep, and philander with the unmarried women.

Inheritance of the chieftaincy was nominally patrilineal. Maibu, however, was the son of the daughter of the Trumaí chief whom von den Steinen had met, indicating that the office can pass matrilineally if there are no male heirs available. (Maibu's brother's son, Jawaku, adopted by Maibu through the levirate, was to have been the next Trumaí chief.) But the Trumaí chief reported by Galvão nine years later was Aloari, who was only a distant relative of Maibu.[8] What happened in the years between 1938 and 1947 is not known, but it is apparent that

[8] This information was received verbally from Dr. Eduardo Galvão.

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Aloari took over the post of *aek* by dint of personality and not by regular succession. Even if Jawaku had died, Aloari would not have been a logical heir. Manifestly, patrilineality was very fluid. 622

Conflict

In cases of interpersonal strife in the village, there was no mediator. The chief usually dissociated himself from these arguments and let the litigants shout it out. Maibu, described by Quain as a happy extrovert and a secure person, was involved in few personal quarrels. He did have occasional difficulties in discharging his office. For instance, Tun and Aloari refused to help build Quain's house on the grounds that he was only a *cawaru*, or person of low status. There then ensued a loud argument in the village plaza between Aloari and Maibu in which each tried to shout the other down. The men sat around and watched in bored amusement. Finally, to break it up, they tried to get Quain to sing. When Maibu grew weary and retired, Aloari continued to talk, but was greeted with hoots of derision. 578 622 626 [123]

Aloari was continually embroiled with the other villagers. He refused to finish thatching his house for the rainy season because he wanted the community to move to an old village site where there were fewer insects. His protests were to no avail. The village remained where it was.

Protests against the chief or the village as a whole did not often result in open conflict. For the most part, they were expressed by grumbling, non-compliance, and threats to leave. No action except ridicule was taken against dissidents. Disputes usually took the form of shouted arguments in the evening men's circle. The closest approximation to the use of force was a mock wrestling match between the disputants, in which light slaps and holds were mixed with talk. During one argument, a club was waved. 622 578 [626] [526]

Unwarranted use of force was regarded as a serious offense. Quain learned this at first hand after he had been among the Trumaí for two and a half months and had established excellent relations with them. When Autsuki, an adolescent boy, who had been told not to take any flour from a sack in Quain's house, persisted in doing so, Quain knocked the flour from his hand. Autsuki left the house, laughing derisively. Instantly, however, the entire village was astir. The men gathered in the plaza for a serious discussion. The boy's *wawes* (mother's brothers) came to Quain's house to demand an explanation, as did the chief. Fortunately, except for his pride, Autsuki was not hurt, and the matter was allowed to drop. Maibu, however, seeing that Quain was still annoyed, invited him to come into the center of the village and make a speech in his native tongue, the standard Trumaí escape-valve. 123 578 626 [154]

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the group, and they never participated in any of its activities. Occasionally men gathered in the village center during the day, but at night the circle always formed, generally lasting from sundown until about nine o'clock. In the afternoon it was often the scene of wrestling matches. Talk usually went on then also, but the gatherings were smaller than at night.

At night most of the men were present, and conversation ranged over a variety of topics. Of greatest interest were neighboring tribes, past warfare and present threats to peace. Gossip, usually about sex, found ready ears. This was the time when the chief made most of his speeches, and the time when plans for a fishing trip, for salt manufacture, or for a journey to the Waurá for pots were discussed. The men's circle was also the place where the shaman practiced his art, and, as noted above, where grievances were aired.

The social life of the males was centered almost completely in these gatherings, and it was in them that the mechanisms of village authority and social control were expressed. Also, the men's circle underlined the cleavage between the activities of the men and of the women. The women had no formal grouping such as the men's circle, but they showed solidarity when the need arose. While men were dominant, as Quain said, they "look on the women as an ungoverned force," and open group quarrels were not infrequent between the sexes.

Status

Aek, the Trumaí word for chief, also denoted membership in the upper half of what is nominally a status class. Members of the lower half of this class were loosely referred to as *camara*, a term which, according to Galvão, probably diffused into the region from rural Brazil, where workers are called *camaradas*.[19] There was some uncertainty on the part of Quain's informants as to who were members of the *aek* division. In general, it included the chief, the two sub-chiefs, and their families. But while the status appears to have been hereditary, its transmission was loose and uncertain. For instance, Maibu was an *aek*, but he refused to classify his brothers as such. However, the fathers of both Maibu and Katauka, one of the sub-chiefs, were *aek*. Matiwana's three daughters and his son derived their status from him, further supporting the case for patrilineality. On the other hand, the children of one of the daughters were *aek*, even though their father was a *camara*. The significance of being *aek* had probably declined with the weakening of leadership patterns and the lessened importance of the sub-chiefs. Today, the *aek-camara* division is non-functional, membership is confused, and, except for the chieftainship, it is correlated only vaguely

[19] Galvão 1949, p. 40.

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with prestige. Aloari, who later became chief, was classified as a *camara* at the time of Quain's visit.

At the top of the Trumaí prestige scale was the chief. His authority was limited, but he was more respected than any other man. The two sub-chiefs enjoyed some, but not much, prestige. Matiwana was an old man, and old age decreases status among the Trumaí. He took the lead in group curing ceremonies, however, and was the repository of much Trumaí lore and learning. Nor was Katauka, the other sub-chief, very influential. And neither official had the privilege of "talking" to the people as Maibu did. That Katauka was a shaman and Matiwana the chief curer of the village contributed more to their prestige than did their position as sub-chiefs or their membership in the *aek* class. Tun, the shaman, and Oirupa, the sorcerer, ranked just below the chief in importance. The former enjoyed some standing as his prognostications of enemy movements were relied upon and respected by everybody. Oirupa had added power only because he was feared.

The only other criteria of status were youth and aggressiveness. Property was not a point of prestige, but those whose assertive attitudes gave them some status and influence were also those who manifested an accumulative attitude toward property. Youth and sexual prowess were highly regarded. Boasting about sexual exploits was usually done privately, but great pride was taken in them. This was related to the general esteem in which youth, size and vigor were held. To be a successful wrestler, therefore, enhanced a man's position. The Trumaí were also impressed by Quain's height and wanted to know what kind of medicines white men used to make them so tall. There was no warrior class and no special status for success in combat, except insofar as it was an indication of strength and courage.

As noted above, the status of old men was very low, except when they had special knowledge or office. Yet these attributes did not protect Matiwana from being contemptuously referred to as an old man. Moreover, Quain was severely criticized for giving presents to old Yahu, most of whose property had already been claimed by others, since the Trumaí did not think it proper that one so old should have any possessions beyond fishing and hunting equipment and other necessities. A favorite insult among the Trumaí was to tell someone he was old, and by implication that he no longer bathed or was able to fornicate.

Prestige variations, on the whole, were not great in the Trumaí village. The community had no clearly defined social groupings based on status, nor were there social mechanisms for human exploitation. Variations in wealth were slight, and their only significance was that one man might have more tools and trinkets than another. It is possible, however, that before the Trumaí had declined to their present low estate, prestige and authority were more clearly patterned, as they still were in the Kamayurá village.

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master at this dead-pan type of humor. When the women attempted to talk to him and Quain, he remained entirely disinterested, occasionally breaking in on them to address himself solely to the ethnographer. Although the women affected exasperation, they really enjoyed this negative attention.

The women were easy to frighten. Aloari teased his wife and sister-in-law by chasing them with a live snake in his hands. The women were also sensitive to touch (few men could resist brushing a hand lightly over an ever-exposed buttock when a crowd was present), and they became nervous when they saw that such teasing was impending. On a day when all the women had crowded into Quain's house, he pulled on the perineal cord of one of them. She immediately loosed a scream and ran out the door followed by the others, who laughed hilariously. Thereafter all the women expected to be teased by Quain, and they identified him somewhat more with the other men than they had before. The men often threatened rape in jest, but even when the women recognized the humorous intent, their basic anxiety was never completely allayed.

Pranks were frequent among the men. It was particularly amusing for a man to inform the others that Quain had given him a gift. Yati went to the trouble of filling a cartridge box with dirt and soberly telling all the men that the box was full of rifle shells. He was among the more popular jokers of the village. And pranks were played on him also. One night, in jest, Aloari shot at Yati's chicken with Quain's rifle on the pretext that it had been crowing. (The noise of the rifle report was also calculated to terrify the village.) Tun and Jakwanari occasionally tried to be funny by sitting alone and talking to themselves rapidly and incoherently. This was considered forced humor, and no one so much as chuckled.

A major source of diversion was gossip about who was cohabiting with whom. While this sometimes led to shouting arguments, it was more often merely playful talk, and it was treated as such. Accusations of sexual intercourse, sometimes true and sometimes false, were tossed back and forth between the men, usually with accompanying leers.

Manners and Morals

The Trumaí gossiped about sex, not because it was held to be morally wrong to do so, but because they had a frank and honest interest in it. Sex was considered a part of the "good life," but it was also thought to be a distraction from work. Thus, the chief made lengthy speeches castigating the men for being interested in nothing but sex when they should have been out planting. Similarly, Yanahi should have finished his puberty rites, but, as one of his kinsmen bluntly put it, all he wanted to do was "*tsidi*" (copulate). In reality the men took vicarious enjoyment in watching Yanahi exert his newly found sex prowess.

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105 174 571 602 serious damage to the individual personality. Also, many individuals could not enact whole sets of kin-determined roles because they had no relatives of the proper complementary status. For example, parents-in-law normally exerted considerable influence and control over younger married couples, but hardly anyone in the village had such relatives. [585] Similarly, cross-cousin marriage was the preferred union, but cross-cousins were generally unavailable. Moreover, because of the shortage [578] of women, marriage came to be more a cause of conflict than a consolidator of kinship bonds.

105 182 626 Not only was the family world of the Trumaí crumbling, but all lines of authority and social control were weak. The Trumaí seemed unable to unite for such culturally approved purposes as economic cooperation or hospitality. Trumaí leadership, like that of many primitive peoples, was predicated on the existence of strong bonds of kinship, economic interdependence, and a general agreement on goals and policies. These preconditions were no longer found among the Trumaí. In this structural vacuum, the Trumaí chief was less and less able to cope with the growing self-assertiveness of certain men, and was increasingly forced into a neutral role. As the community weakened, his position weakened.

105 182 578 A number of reasons account for the factionalism which developed within the Trumaí village. Some are a function of personality, others of the diminished population. Obviously women were at a premium and many men were compelled to do without mates. The resultant competition was, as we have seen, a festering sore in the body politic. Connected with it, but having further ramifications, the bonds of kinship and the expected behavior between kinsmen underwent attrition and upset what social balance could have been achieved under more normal conditions. Indeed fear of the outside world more than internal forces of cohesion held the Trumaí community together.

[096] 105 182 771 Other integrative mechanisms in Trumaí culture were also disappearing. Conspicuous among them was the gradual abandonment of many elements in the Trumaí ceremonial cycle. (Significantly this left the highly individual practice of shamanism as the most active religious expression in Trumaí culture). In part, this loss may have been due to the inability of the Trumaí to amass a sufficiently large food surplus for the feasting that was required when visitors from other tribes were present. Not enough is known about the ritual of the Trumaí to warrant any broad generalizations on the effects of depopulation on ceremonial participation, but their numbers may well have been approaching the minimum necessary to carry out the rites. Only a few men who had depended heavily on one old man for their instruction possessed the requisite ceremonial knowledge. When this old man died, Trumaí culture must have suffered a severe blow. Younger men were little interested in learning the ritual and lore. Moreover, the small number of bearers of

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post-natal sexual taboos is a serious social problem. A large group of not very pretty bachelors must use the woman with ringworm or the Suyá captive, whose present marriage is considered dishonorable. These women have no brothers or fathers. In contrast with Karajá, there is no stylized homosexuality. Yet the complete freedom of sexual play results in activities which might be considered overt homosexuality. But to the Trumaí such activity has little emotional content. It does not seem to set up special personal relationships.

"Women are in constant fear of attack. Yet a wife tyrannizes her husband by withholding her favors and pulling the hair of anyone whom she suspects her husband has used sexually. Between married people, sex occurs at night — preferably when everyone else is asleep — or while going to the forest on various gathering tasks. A man and his wife engage in many things together, such as afternoon relaxation, fishing, and gardening. There is companionship even between those spouses among whom the wife is much older and no longer of interest to the man sexually.

"Between themselves, the men are extremely individualistic. Cooperation rarely exceeds kin limits even at the explicit order of the chief. Only when outsiders are present do men band together in a mock display of solid cooperation.... There is only one old man, who is about seventy — all others are under 45 ..... All death is murder. Nobody expects to live longer than the next rainy season. Men always carry bows and arrows for protection. Shamans keep the village in constant fear of attack from the Suyá or Kamayurá.... There are imaginary attacks quite often. Men gather in terror at the center of the village — the most exposed spot — and wait to be shot at from the dark bushes at the margin of the village....

"Authority is lax. The patrilineally hereditary chief does no work and is a parasite on his household. He is self-conscious of the rank of his wife whose marriage has elevated her. He lounges in his hammock, but it is his duty to orate from the center of the village at night and sometimes in the morning, urging the men to undertake group projects. He is the only man who has the courage to be an executive. This contrasts with the Kamayurá where there are several chiefs who, uniquely in their culture, are shy and ashamed to speak and whose orders must be referred through special talkers. It also contrasts with the Karajá where the chief is the best worker .... When the season changes, the Trumaí chief urges the people to engage in the new work, which they would do anyway. An example of the complete independence of spirit is illustrated by the two brothers who would not help the brother-in-law of one build the house in which they all were living, because they thought the mosquitoes would be bad in that location during the rainy season. The brother-in-law built the tremendous house all by himself — the two brothers lived comfortably in it.

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105 626 578 [622] [123] [622]

"Angry stylized quarreling is a legal device. The village hoots in derision at him whose argument is poor. The chief must be a master at this kind of argument, but all men and even women participate .... Though everyone makes speeches, it is only the chief who makes executive speeches. Quarrels have always been about women, with the exception of the one which occurred upon my arrival in the village (one party disapproved of me...). The chief does not interfere in personal quarrels. The other men sit quietly in the center of the village smoking and trying to disregard the quarrel, which may be going on over their very heads. When the contenders have retired from the village green, they are perfectly calm. The argument is suspended until it can be carried on publicly. There seem to be no secret alliances among the men.

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"Another thing I must mention is the complete lack of emotional content in religious ceremonies. These are mildly pleasant chores. Although their structure is designed for a public pageant, nobody pays attention."

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624 LOCAL OFFICIALS--specialized offices within the community (e.g., war chief, fire chief, talking chief, recorder of deeds, surveyor, herald, chief priest); qualifications, mode of selection, functions, activities, and prerogatives of each type of official; etc. See also:

Officials of territorial divisions 63
Military organization 70
State bureaucracy 847
Priesthood 793

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Avunculate

604 522 [861] [431] The maternal uncle in Trumaí society was in no sense a disciplinarian. Only the father and the father's brother were allowed to strike a child. On the other hand, the gift-giving claims of the sister's son (*deta*) upon the mother's brother (*wawe*) were strong, and particularly so when they were reinforced by co-residence. A man was expected to be benevolent and tolerant toward his *deta*. This frequently took the form of teasing and jollying the boy, and contrasted with the more serious attitude of the father and his brothers. For instance, Yati told his *deta* that he and Quain were going to eat him, and, as if to carry out the threat, he began to drag him toward the fire. The child cried lustily, and Yati immediately stopped and cajoled him. Also, Katauka said to his *deta*, "When you die, I will not cry." Katauka was greatly amused when this caused tears.

Such teasing ceased by the time a boy reached the age of puberty. Moreover, the *wawe* became a defender of the *deta's* interests in the absence of the boy's father or father's brother, and, in some cases, he supervised his initiation ceremonies. Common to both the Trumaí and [437] Kamayurá was the traveling partnership of a man and his sister's son. [171] It was quite usual for a *wawe* to take his *deta* along when he visited another village. Quain noted that on such trips the wife of the older man was rarely included. This is consistent with the sexual taboo [835] between the nephew and the maternal uncle's wife.

The Chieftaincy

622 624 [888] The Trumaí had one chieftain (*aek*), Maibu, and two sub-chiefs, Katauka and Matiwana. At the outset it should be understood that Katauka and Matiwana at no time during Quain's stay exerted any chiefly prerogative or function. They were not men of especially high status — indeed, Matiwana was looked down upon as an old man. Their main function, Quain was told, was to take over the office of chief when Maibu was away from the village. Due to Matiwana's advanced age, this duty ordinarily fell to Katauka. Otherwise, neither man was particularly influential; nor did they talk more in the men's circle than others.

622 537 The chief's main function was to urge his fellow Trumaí to carry out those projects or tasks which were the responsibility of the community as a whole or in its interest, but he frequently exhorted the villagers to

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575 the group, and they never participated in any of its activities. Occasionally men gathered in the village center during the day. but at night the circle always formed, generally lasting from sundown until about nine [624] o'clock. In the afternoon it was often the scene of wrestling matches. Talk usually went on then also, but the gatherings were smaller than at night.

[521] At night most of the men were present, and conversation ranged over a variety of topics. Of greatest interest were neighboring tribes, past warfare and present threats to peace. Gossip, usually about sex, found ready ears. This was the time when the chief made most of his speeches, and the time when plans for a fishing trip, for salt manufacture, or for a journey to the Waurá for pots were discussed. The men's circle was [756] also the place where the shaman practiced his art, and, as noted above, where grievances were aired.

[626] The social life of the males was centered almost completely in these gatherings, and it was in them that the mechanisms of village authority and social control were expressed. Also, the men's circle underlined the cleavage between the activities of the men and of the women. The women had no formal grouping such as the men's circle, but they showed [562] solidarity when the need arose. While men were dominant, as Quain [578] said, they "look on the women as an ungoverned force," and open group quarrels were not infrequent between the sexes.

Status

554 *Aek*, the Trumaí word for chief, also denoted membership in the 565 upper half of what is nominally a status class. Members of the lower 178 half of this class were loosely referred to as *camaru*, a term which, 622 according to Galvão, probably diffused into the region from rural Brazil, where workers are called *camaradas*.[19] There was some uncer- 624 tainty on the part of Quain's informants as to who were members of the *aek* division. In general, it included the chief, the two sub-chiefs, and their families. But while the status appears to have been hereditary, its transmission was loose and uncertain. For instance, Maibu was an *aek*, but he refused to classify his brothers as such. However, the fathers of both Maibu and Katauka, one of the sub-chiefs, were *aek*. Matiwana's three daughters and his son derived their status from him, further supporting the case for patrilineality. On the other hand, the children of one of the daughters were *aek*, even though their father was a *camaru*. The significance of being *aek* had probably declined with the weakening of leadership patterns and the lessened importance of the sub-chiefs. Today, the *aek-camaru* division is non-functional, membership is confused, and, except for the chieftainship, it is correlated only vaguely

[19] Galvão 1949, p. 40.

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with prestige. Aloari, who later became chief, was classified as a *camara* at the time of Quain's visit.

At the top of the Trumaí prestige scale was the chief. His authority was limited, but he was more respected than any other man. The two sub-chiefs enjoyed some, but not much, prestige. Matiwana was an old man, and old age decreases status among the Trumaí. He took the lead in group curing ceremonies, however, and was the repository of much Trumaí lore and learning. Nor was Katauka, the other sub-chief, very influential. And neither official had the privilege of "talking" to the people as Maibu did. That Katauka was a shaman and Matiwana the chief curer of the village contributed more to their prestige than did their position as sub-chiefs or their membership in the *aek* class. Tun, the shaman, and Oirupa, the sorcerer, ranked just below the chief in importance. The former enjoyed some standing as his prognostications of enemy movements were relied upon and respected by everybody. Oirupa had added power only because he was feared.

The only other criteria of status were youth and aggressiveness. Property was not a point of prestige, but those whose assertive attitudes gave them some status and influence were also those who manifested an accumulative attitude toward property. Youth and sexual prowess were highly regarded. Boasting about sexual exploits was usually done privately, but great pride was taken in them. This was related to the general esteem in which youth, size and vigor were held. To be a successful wrestler, therefore, enhanced a man's position. The Trumaí were also impressed by Quain's height and wanted to know what kind of medicines white men used to make them so tall. There was no warrior class and no special status for success in combat, except insofar as it was an indication of strength and courage.

As noted above, the status of old men was very low, except when they had special knowledge or office. Yet these attributes did not protect Matiwana from being contemptuously referred to as an old man. Moreover, Quain was severely criticized for giving presents to old Yahu, most of whose property had already been claimed by others, since the Trumaí did not think it proper that one so old should have any possessions beyond fishing and hunting equipment and other necessities. A favorite insult among the Trumaí was to tell someone he was old, and by implication that he no longer bathed or was able to fornicate.

Prestige variations, on the whole, were not great in the Trumaí village. The community had no clearly defined social groupings based on status, nor were there social mechanisms for human exploitation. Variations in wealth were slight, and their only significance was that one man might have more tools and trinkets than another. It is possible, however, that before the Trumaí had declined to their present low estate, prestige and authority were more clearly patterned, as they still were in the Kamayurá village.

626

626 SOCIAL CONTROL--incentives to conformity (e.g., expectation of rewards, reciprocity, fear of social and supernatural sanctions, conscience); means of inducing conformity (e.g., example, precept, praise, rewards, warnings, threats); pressure of public opinion; informal mechanisms of social control (e.g., criticism, ridicule, gossip, cursing, sorcery, intentional silence, ostracism); incidence and effectiveness of such sanctions as compared with the application of physical force; etc. See also:

Socialization 86
Social norms 183
Public opinion 208
Wit and humor 522
Status and prestige 554
Loss of face 558
Primary groups 571
Reactions to breaches of etiquette 576
Breaches of ethics 577
Ingroup antagonisms 578
Sorcery 754
Supernatural sanctions for violations of taboos and other offenses 784
Cursing 789

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CHAPTER THREE

Trumaí Social Organization

Property Ownership

105 Trumaí society was relatively simple. There was no social stratification
[556] based on wealth, nor were the mechanisms of social control and
[626] cohesion highly developed. This was in accord with the individualization
[433] of productive effort and the low level of economic surplus. The political
[621] unit was a single community, the sole bearer of Trumaí culture.

All land and productive resources were considered the property of the
421 community, and the right to their exploitation resided with any indivi-
423 dual willing to expend the labor. Gardens were individual property, but only in the sense that the man who reclaimed the land from the jungle was entitled to its product. There was no concept of alienable property in land, entailing the right of disposition. The *piquí* trees were said to be owned individually, but the owner exercised exclusive rights only over the first fruits. Other wild food plants were community property
423 and their fruits belonged to the gatherer.

The fishing rights to lagoons and backwaters of the rivers belonged
[226] to the tribes in whose territory they were located. There was no individual ownership of fishing sites.

422 There was property in foods, but as soon as they were cooked they
[267] were freely distributed. *Beijú* belonged to the women, but the manioc out of which it was prepared was said to be the property of the man who grew it. Such distinctions were largely academic. Actually, the men
[462] grew the vegetable and the women harvested it, prepared it, and cooked it, after which it was distributed and eaten. The same situation prevailed in regard to the products of fishing, hunting, and gathering. Salt was
[263] the only exception, as it was prepared and owned by individual men
[439] and women. The difference undoubtedly lies in the fact that salt was an important trade item, while the other commodities were not.

Very little property can be said to have belonged to the family.
[285] Baskets and gourd containers were made by the men for themselves
[415] and for the women, but they were often used by both a man and his wife. Nearly all material objects outside of natural resources were owned by the person who made them or the person to whom an object was
423 given. House ownership was vague, since houses were built and occupied by more than one man, and abandoned when the village moved. The house, however, was often considered the property of the man who put

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Aloari took over the post of *aek* by dint of personality and not by regular succession. Even if Jawaku had died, Aloari would not have been a logical heir. Manifestly, patrilineality was very fluid. 622

Conflict

In cases of interpersonal strife in the village, there was no mediator. The chief usually dissociated himself from these arguments and let the litigants shout it out. Maibu, described by Quain as a happy extrovert and a secure person, was involved in few personal quarrels. He did have occasional difficulties in discharging his office. For instance, Tun and Aloari refused to help build Quain's house on the grounds that he was only a *camara*, or person of low status. There then ensued a loud argument in the village plaza between Aloari and Maibu in which each tried to shout the other down. The men sat around and watched in bored amusement. Finally, to break it up, they tried to get Quain to sing. When Maibu grew weary and retired, Aloari continued to talk, but was greeted with hoots of derision. 578 622 626 [123]

Aloari was continually embroiled with the other villagers. He refused to finish thatching his house for the rainy season because he wanted the community to move to an old village site where there were fewer insects. His protests were to no avail. The village remained where it was.

Protests against the chief or the village as a whole did not often result in open conflict. For the most part, they were expressed by grumbling, non-compliance, and threats to leave. No action except ridicule was taken against dissidents. Disputes usually took the form of shouted arguments in the evening men's circle. The closest approximation to the use of force was a mock wrestling match between the disputants, in which light slaps and holds were mixed with talk. During one argument, a club was waved. 622 578 [626] [526]

Unwarranted use of force was regarded as a serious offense. Quain learned this at first hand after he had been among the Trumaí for two and a half months and had established excellent relations with them. When Autsuki, an adolescent boy, who had been told not to take any flour from a sack in Quain's house, persisted in doing so, Quain knocked the flour from his hand. Autsuki left the house, laughing derisively. Instantly, however, the entire village was astir. The men gathered in the plaza for a serious discussion. The boy's *wawes* (mother's brothers) came to Quain's house to demand an explanation, as did the chief. Fortunately, except for his pride, Autsuki was not hurt, and the matter was allowed to drop. Maibu, however, seeing that Quain was still annoyed, invited him to come into the center of the village and make a speech in his native tongue, the standard Trumaí escape-valve. 123 578 626 [154]

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626 828 154 On these occasions the men usually unburdened themselves in the village center. Malice was expressed either by a verbal interchange with the opponent or an angry speech. The substance of the latter type of demonstration often was not related to the cause of the dispute or to the speaker's discontent. Manifestly, the function of the harangue was to provide an emotional outlet rather than a forum. Maibu's suggestion that Quain should make a speech in his own language underlines the fact that the externalization of anger was the paramount purpose.

154 626 123 Emotional release could also be found in contrived performances. Quain, feeling depressed one evening, refused to sing when the Trumaí asked him to. However, when Maibu proposed a mock argument, Quain, being a good ethnologist, complied. Facing each other in the village center, the two men hurled epithets and insults at each other at the top of their voices. When Quain was at a loss for something to say, Maibu suggested that he repeat a speech he had made about the theft of his supplies. At the conclusion Quain reported, "I felt very good when I shouted at him for a while, and I was quite willing to sing."

683 692 In cases of physical harm, settlement could be obtained by paying the injured person. Quain was told that after the spear-throwing contest, the Kamayurá and the Trumaí each paid indemnities for bruises inflicted.[9] No case of physical violence was observed by Quain, but when [123] he slapped the flour from the boy's hand, and again when he stepped on a child's foot, the Trumaí suggested that he pay something. The latter case was an obvious attempt at petty extortion, for a week later the same child had his foot stepped on by a Trumaí, but this time the only result was an admonition from his father to be quiet.

626 954 [186] Still another alternative to violence was found in witchcraft. Only one or two Trumaí knew the practice of sorcery, and these men were said to have learned it from the Nahukwa, who were much feared because of their dangerous skill. Sorcery was usually invoked covertly, but at least once in an argument its use was openly threatened. This, however, was regarded as a most reprehensible action.

578 154 The chief source of conflict in the village was sex. Quarrels over who was to marry the three available women raged throughout Quain's stay. Bride-capture, the large percentage of older women, and polygamy combined to make the allotment of women an extremely sore point. The story of the battle over one woman is worth reporting, as it illustrates both patterned interpersonal relationships and the ways in which anger could be expressed and channeled.

578 584 154 Three men wanted to marry Kuyafi, a widow with a child. They were Oirupa the sorcerer, Mayuva, her sister's husband, and Nitvary. Kuyafi, it was said, had once had a child by Nitvary, so his claim was a strong one. So also was Mayuva's, as he had recognized sexual rights over her

[9] Cf. Galvão 1950, p. 363.

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because she was his sister-in-law. Mayuva, however, was afraid of Nitvary, as the latter had close ties with the Kamayurá and had threatened Mayuva with witchcraft at their hands. After Nitvary returned from a trip to the Kamayurá village, Mayuva complained of severe headaches and said he was going to die. Although he denied to Quain that his condition was due to Kamayurá sorcery, the threats against him apparently had the desired result: a short time later Kuyafi moved into Nitvary's house. The union last only two days, for Nitvary's jealous wife drove her out in a fit of anger. The field, it would seem, was clear for Oirupa, the third suitor.

Oirupa, however, had been trying to marry Kuyafi for years. Her father, Matiwana, refused to give his consent and Oirupa, in revenge, was said to have killed two of Matiwana's children by witchcraft. Relations between their families were understandably strained, and they were further aggravated by the marriage of Matiwana's son Yati and Oirupa's sister Kerami, which occurred during Quain's stay. This union was unhappy and short-lived. When Kerami left him, Yati and his father held Oirupa and his co-resident affinals, Tun and Aloari, responsible. Yati bitterly asserted that he (and Matiwana) would go to live among his mother's people, the Kuikuru of the upper Kuluene. There, he said, women were much easier to get.

With this background of conflict and suspicion, it is not surprising that the quarrel again broke out in earnest when Oirupa tried to seduce Kuyafi. Angered by her rejection he threw *piqui* pits at her. In the afternoon Matiwana spoke out against Oirupa from his house. (This was proper behavior, since a parent is expected to take his offspring's part in such disputes.) That evening the two men indulged in the usual loud shouting and wrestled with barely restrained hostility. Kuyafi added her bit from the house as did another of Matiwana's daughters. The other men pretended indifference. Yati remained silent, although he was vitally interested in the dispute; for, besides being Matiwana's son, he was involved in an enduring respect relationship with his former brother-in-law, even after his marriage was dissolved. Public opinion, however, was on the side of Matiwana, for Oirupa had committed an offense by hitting Kuyafi with the pits, and he had also threatened to use witchcraft. To this last Matiwana tauntingly replied that had Oirupa's witchcraft been really effective, he would have been dead long ago. As of the time Quain left the Trumaí, Kuyafi's future was still undecided.

The Men's Circle

The men's circle served a number of functions. It was the place in which initiated males gathered, talked, argued, and smoked. It was not taboo to young boys, as it was to women, but youngsters rarely joined the group, and they never participated in any of its activities.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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the group, and they never participated in any of its activities. Occasionally men gathered in the village center during the day, but at night the circle always formed, generally lasting from sundown until about nine o'clock. In the afternoon it was often the scene of wrestling matches. Talk usually went on then also, but the gatherings were smaller than at night.

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Status

Aek, the Trumaí word for chief, also denoted membership in the upper half of what is nominally a status class. Members of the lower half of this class were loosely referred to as *camara*, a term which, according to Galvão, probably diffused into the region from rural Brazil, where workers are called *camaradas*.[10] There was some uncertainty on the part of Quain's informants as to who were members of the *aek* division. In general, it included the chief, the two sub-chiefs, and their families. But while the status appears to have been hereditary, its transmission was loose and uncertain. For instance, Maibu was an *aek*, but he refused to classify his brothers as such. However, the fathers of both Maibu and Katauka, one of the sub-chiefs, were *aek*. Matiwana's three daughters and his son derived their status from him, further supporting the case for patrilineality. On the other hand, the children of one of the daughters were *aek*, even though their father was a *camara*. The significance of being *aek* had probably declined with the weakening of leadership patterns and the lessened importance of the sub-chiefs. Today, the *aek-camara* division is non-functional, membership is confused, and, except for the chieftainship, it is correlated only vaguely

[10] Galvão 1949, p. 40.

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still too young to "see," but that when he was older he would learn, since his father was a shaman. Aloari said that he, too, would learn when he was old, as would his son Tsirikoan. Mãtiwana would instruct Aloari and would receive a payment for this tutelage. Indicative of a possible looseness of inheritance was the fact that Matiwana's son Yati was nowhere mentioned as a prospective shaman.

Dreams were considered to be a way of "seeing" while sleeping. This was known as *ohltaxer*. Dreams were taken seriously, at least by the dreamer. Aloari fully believed that the Waurá would come after he had dreamed it. And Maibu was convinced that he should make the trip to the Indian post on the Paranatinga River because he had dreamed that Climaco, the agent, liked him very much and would give him a rifle. However, individual dreams were not a matter of community concern or interest. Village action was taken on the basis of shamanistic "seeing" only.

Witchcraft

The only known sorcerer in the Trumaí village was Oirupa, the brother-in-law of Aloari. Oirupa was said by one man to have learned witchcraft (*okei*) from the Nahukwa, who, with the other Cariban tribes, were dreaded for their black magic. Oirupa's knowledge made him one of the most hated men in the village, but no action was taken against him for fear of incurring his enmity. Also, there have been no reports of the execution of sorcerers in the upper Xingú, and, from all indications, this mode of retaliation is not customary.

When someone fell ill and witchcraft was suspected, the guilt was usually imputed to a neighboring tribe. It was said that the Trumaí had to leave their old village site near the Kamayurá because the latter were killing them off with witchcraft. Sorcery was probably often practiced against other groups by the Trumaí, and the converse was always feared. Oirupa refused to speak above a whisper one night when the Auetí were said to be using black magic on the Trumaí.

It was Quain's belief that witchcraft was a substitute for open violence among the people of the area; significantly, witchcraft was not practiced by the people of the upper Xingú against the Suyá and other hostile tribes outside the Basin.[4] Intertribal black magic functioned as a check upon violence within the village as well. Certainly, it was more conducive to social order to attribute sorcery to another tribe than to some member of the small and already disrupted Trumaí community.

[4] Cf. Galvão 1949; Oberg 1953.

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888 [561] [181] grades except in the broadest sense, as the term for "younger" covered everyone from infants to people in the prime of life. The terms, however, indicate a keen consciousness that those who have passed their prime are distinct from those who are still developing or are at the height of their physical powers.

The Trumaí believed that it was good to be young, vigorous, and strong, while advancing years were a stigma. Quain always met with a stout denial whenever he suggested to someone that he was older than someone else. An old person, they said with contempt, was one who did not bathe or shave the crown of his head any more. Mayuva did not [626] bother to bathe one morning and was derided by Kerami, who accused him of being old. A short time later he reappeared freshly bathed.

[162] While several individuals were considered "older," the only ones who fell into the Trumaí category of true old age were Matiwana and Yahu. The latter's status was further lowered by the fact that he was con- [563] sidered to be a Kamayurá; his father was a member of that tribe and he had a son living with them. However, Yahu was still sexually potent and a full participant in the economy.

[195] A person of truly advanced old age was called *dewan*. This term, which has uncomplimentary connotations, was applied only to men "whose penis is dead" or to women past menopause. Matiwana was the only person of either sex who fitted the *dewan* category. The only tasks for which he was suited were light craft work, gathering firewood, and an occasional fishing trip. He was, however, the fount of nearly all Trumaí ceremonial knowledge. Matiwana was well cared for by his son and by his household. The son's affection and loyalty to his father were deep, and he was the old man's constant companion. The rest of the villagers remained aloof from Matiwana.

888 554 [756] The Trumaí abhorred the thought of their own future old age, and they transferred some of this fear to the persons of the aged. Status declined with age, and Matiwana had his ceremonial lore and shamanistic skill to thank for what position he still maintained.

Death

768 Neither the village site nor the house of the deceased had to be
764 abandoned following death. Burial took place in the village plaza. The corpse was interred lying on its back in an extended position, wrapped and bound in its hammock. Numerous cooking utensils, including a *ja'meo* (ceramic griddle for baking *beijú*) were buried with both male and female deceased.

765 No deaths occurred while Quain was in residence, but mourning was still going on for a man who had recently died. The burden of mourning fell on the female relatives of the deceased. The only observance in-

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serious damage to the individual personality. Also, many individuals could not enact whole sets of kin-determined roles because they had no relatives of the proper complementary status. For example, parents-in-law normally exerted considerable influence and control over younger married couples, but hardly anyone in the village had such relatives. Similarly, cross-cousin marriage was the preferred union, but cross-cousins were generally unavailable. Moreover, because of the shortage of women, marriage came to be more a cause of conflict than a consolidator of kinship bonds.

Not only was the family world of the Trumaí crumbling, but all lines of authority and social control were weak. The Trumaí seemed unable to unite for such culturally approved purposes as economic cooperation or hospitality. Trumaí leadership, like that of many primitive peoples, was predicated on the existence of strong bonds of kinship, economic interdependence, and a general agreement on goals and policies. These preconditions were no longer found among the Trumaí. In this structural vacuum, the Trumaí chief was less and less able to cope with the growing self-assertiveness of certain men, and was increasingly forced into a neutral role. As the community weakened, his position weakened.

A number of reasons account for the factionalism which developed within the Trumaí village. Some are a function of personality, others of the diminished population. Obviously women were at a premium and many men were compelled to do without mates. The resultant competition was, as we have seen, a festering sore in the body politic. Connected with it, but having further ramifications, the bonds of kinship and the expected behavior between kinsmen underwent attrition and upset what social balance could have been achieved under more normal conditions. Indeed fear of the outside world more than internal forces of cohesion held the Trumaí community together.

Other integrative mechanisms in Trumaí culture were also disappearing. Conspicuous among them was the gradual abandonment of many elements in the Trumaí ceremonial cycle. (Significantly this left the highly individual practice of shamanism as the most active religious expression in Trumaí culture). In part, this loss may have been due to the inability of the Trumaí to amass a sufficiently large food surplus for the feasting that was required when visitors from other tribes were present. Not enough is known about the ritual of the Trumaí to warrant any broad generalizations on the effects of depopulation on ceremonial participation, but their numbers may well have been approaching the minimum necessary to carry out the rites. Only a few men who had depended heavily on one old man for their instruction possessed the requisite ceremonial knowledge. When this old man died, Trumaí culture must have suffered a severe blow. Younger men were little interested in learning the ritual and lore. Moreover, the small number of bearers of

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105 626 578 [622] [123] [622] "Angry stylized quarreling is a legal device. The village hoots in derision at him whose argument is poor. The chief must be a master at this kind of argument, but all men and even women participate .... Though everyone makes speeches, it is only the chief who makes executive speeches. Quarrels have always been about women, with the exception of the one which occurred upon my arrival in the village (one party disapproved of me...). The chief does not interfere in personal quarrels. The other men sit quietly in the center of the village smoking and trying to disregard the quarrel, which may be going on over their very heads. When the contenders have retired from the village green, they are perfectly calm. The argument is suspended until it can be carried on publicly. There seem to be no secret alliances among the men.

105 182 771 796 "Another thing I must mention is the complete lack of emotional content in religious ceremonies. These are mildly pleasant chores. Although their structure is designed for a public pageant, nobody pays attention."